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/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (te.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.

● 535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[a] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[b] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[43] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[a] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[b] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ew'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 178 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

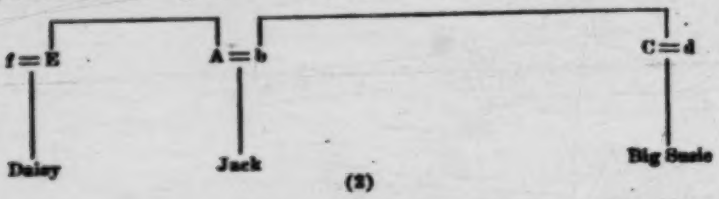
Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le"yue; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.'ld, and is called le.'leli in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'a"ma and is called la'a"ama in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tiku'u, and she calls "back to him" leku'l.



(2)

Jack calls C tita"a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi"tauk, and E ti.'.nei. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' puma'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita"a tamlai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlai'ya tawi"tauk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe"yu taga'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the galo'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a me'luwe'ue dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had [171] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to amuse themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalo'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (tsigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsoyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[34] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[35] ("tsohotumpesh," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[36] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapu, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[34] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 396. [36] *Ibid.*, 523.

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.'

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category 11b, pp. 138–139 – Analyst]

881 252 [415] covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [291] [432] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

881 Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits* present absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	*North-West California* H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		*South Sierra Nevada* H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Mono		Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some	
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–			
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration						
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing	+					
Singers paid or given gifts	+				–	
Singing, no dancing		+	–			
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing	+	+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–			
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–	
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–			
Hoof rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–			
Cocoon rattle				+	–	
Gourd rattle				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
3 days in roasting pit						
Trench at girl's rite						
Sexual license	+					

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological R

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[1] Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P. 306, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, [535] these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo [871] girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS

(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[533] law who remembered the antelope songs.

Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

224 "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few
789 piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
[533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by
[114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
[237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
[136] in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a
[171] method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
624 There was, however, a special leader who directed
787 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
791 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

791 224 624 767 [782] 224 178 [464] 624 224 178 [182] [177] 224 535 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 [262] Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 539 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this.[10]

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[787] "This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] "This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

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Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2384-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
was that they must not eat meat during their periods.
[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed
the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-
368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the
old. In actuality it would seem that only the children
and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying
[886] for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes
to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat pur-
chased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison
or other game taken by someone they know, for fear
of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today
in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who
lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter.
In times past, certain women are reported to have
made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
● 535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
[796] particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo
subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621).
Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all,
by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its produc-
tion was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the
pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among
all the Washo during the last part of the summer.
Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and sur-
vey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and
according to one informant: "If we have a couple of
bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to
be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship
to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant main-
tains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo ex-
cept his relatives and admitted by them only when
they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The ac-
count is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony
of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent
as other information is presented that it is a highly
idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it
includes a number of sacred elements of obvious im-
portance.

[P 383, B]

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ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

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After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. [177] However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of [782] sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

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There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

T:Proud E-8 (1962-1967)1960 MT20 Washo MT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Enos, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1923) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

224 624 [114] [411] [779] [513] [237]

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

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The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

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Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

262 535 574 [525] [537] [252]

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

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Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord the ?ú·gal. The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

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After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

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Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

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When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 339-340). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

● (535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of alder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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(526) After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

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535 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat chil-
[782] dren and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[782] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, al-
[535] most blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was in- [574] vited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. 535 The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women [778] in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up 535 the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔéwéʔyáʔkiʔi, ʔímlíʔhóʔʔiya, nélonéne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?weʔ, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The [562] men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

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eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

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The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long." To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

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After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

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Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

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All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

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574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwéʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

	Yo	K1	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	At
40. Wand	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	•	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Antelope mask	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
48. Round dance	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
49. Stumbling taboo	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
49a. Menstruating women taboo	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
50. Loss of objects taboo	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	•	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	–	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
53. Messengers to antelope	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	–
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•	+
57. Fires to drive	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
58. Shaman in corral	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
59. Shaman "closes gate"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
60. Special archer	•	+	–	+	+	–	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	•	+	•	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
63. Run down on horseback	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
64. Drive	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
65. Past ambushed hunters	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
66. With dogs	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
67. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
70. Ambush beside spring	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
74. Antelopeskin	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
75. Brush	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
77. Drive	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
78. Past hidden hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
79. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
80. With dogs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
81. Into enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
82. Through V-fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
88. Entire skin used	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89. Fire to signal hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
91. Magic	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
94. Club thrown	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–

[p.367]

Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Kl	AT	
2579. To spirit (sunppó)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2585. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or nagwa)															NW
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NWA
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	787
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
"Nuipé" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															NWA
2614. Circle Dance (nagwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	NW
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	

[p. 415]

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2624. To bring deer	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2626. Center post to dance around	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2627. Dry cottonwood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2628. Piñon	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2629. Juniper	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2629a. Any wood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2637. Dancing in one circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2641. Hopping step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2650. Duration (days):4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2654. Corral of brush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2655. Musical rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2656. Resonator: washtub	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2657. Board	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2661. Men pay partners	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2662. Dancing in lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2663. Dancing in couples	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2672. Same chief as circle dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2676. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2678. Feather crown	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2682. Feather necklace	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2684. Breechclout	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 416]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTRO
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2687. Barefoot	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2689. Bow and arrow carried	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2692. Body	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2693. Musicians: 2	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2693a.3 or 4	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2693b.5 or 6	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2701. Dancers: 2	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2701a.4 or 6	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2702. Dancers: men	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2703. Women	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2704. Visitors	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2709a.Several nights	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2710a.Several days	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*2711. Crazy Dance (tonomugava)	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2711b.Special singers	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2712. Musical instruments	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2712a.2 sticks	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2713a.Men dressed as women	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2715. Ghost Dance (mugava)	+	+	*+	–	–	+	+	–	*+	–	–	–	*–	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2717. Shaman at center post	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2719a.5 nights	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
2719b.Any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	+	*+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2721a.4 season names	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	–
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2724. Smoke from fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2725. Sky path	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	–
2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	–
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[P. 417]

N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ts: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 796] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'ŏm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

W [535]

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koipᵉ, female, mutsa´. Koipᵉ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

[P.423(A)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*)." It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals."

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum," three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit."

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[a] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[b] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[c] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[d] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.